

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 BAMA KO 02925 221750Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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O 221721Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BAMA KO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9813

S E C R E T BAMA KO 2925

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CG, XA, PEPR  
SUBJ: AFRICAN POLICY: SHABA, SOVIET/CUBAN INVOLVEMENT

REF: STATE 153145

1. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT CONSULTATION WITH AFRICAN LEADERS ABOUT EXTERNAL INTERVENTION IN AFRICA WOULD HEIGHTEN THEIR PERCEPTION OF PROBLEM AND ALSO DEEPEN OUR UNDERSTANDING OF AFRICAN RESPONSES. WE THINK THESE CONSULTATIONS SHOULD BE CHARACTERIZED BY:

A. A WILLINGNESS ON OUR PART TO LISTEN CAREFULLY TO AFRICAN ANALYSES. THOUGH ANALYSES WILL VARY WIDELY, CAREFUL COMPARISON OF AFRICAN VIEWS REGARDING EXTERNAL INTERVENTION MAY REVEAL SOME COMMON ELEMENTS THAT WOULD SET THE GROUNDWORK FOR DISCUSSIONS. THE CONCEPTS OF AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS AND OF OPPOSITION IN PRINCIPLE TO EXTERNAL INTERVENTION IN AFRICA ARE TWO SUCH PERCEPTIONS WHICH, THOUGH INTERPRETED IN BROADLY VARYING WAYS, ARE NONETHELESS SHARED BY ALL AFRICAN STATES.

B. A BROAD BASE OF CONSULTATIONS TO INCLUDE MODERATE LEADERS FROM FRANCOPHONE AFRICA (SENGHOR OR HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY), A REPRESENTATIVE OF AFRICAN "PROGRESSIVES" (BOUMEDIENE OR SEKOU TOURE), AND OAU HIERARCHY (PRESIDENT BONGO AND TOP LEVELS

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OF OAU SECRETARIAT).

C. AN EMPHASIS ON REVITALIZING OAU'S PEACE-KEEPING POTENTIAL AS A POSTSCRIPT TO A REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF OAU'S RECENT WEAKNESSES. WE THINK THAT INCREASED RECOURSE TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL DOES NOT ANSWER THE OBJECTIVE OF HAVING AFRICANS SOLVE AFRICAN PROBLEMS. RECENT OAU FAILURES SHOULD NOT BECLOUD

ITS PAST SUCCESSES IN DEFUSING INTER-AFRICAN HOSTILITIES IN A PECULIARLY AFRICAN WAY. WE MIGHT EVEN CONSIDER EXTERNAL BUDGET SUPPORT FOR EXPANSION OF OAU'S ARBITRATION EFFORTS OR MULTILATERAL MILITARY AID FOR AN OAU PEACE-KEEPING FORCE. EITHER ALTERNATIVE WOULD COST LESS, POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY, THAN ENDLESS DIRECT INTERVENTIONS IN AFRICA'S PLENTEOUS PROBLEMS.

2. ANOTHER ACTION WE SUGGEST BE CONSIDERED IS ESTABLISHMENT OF A FORMAL U.S. MISSION TO THE OAU, SEPARATE AND DISTINCT FROM OUR EMBASSY IN ADDIS ABABA. WE SEE THE FOLLOWING ADVANTAGES IN SUCH A MOVE:

A. IT WOULD DEMONSTRATE U.S. INTEREST IN THE OAU AS A SERIOUS ORGANIZATION;

B. IT WOULD INDICATE THAT WE VALUE OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH AFRICA AS MUCH AS WE DO THOSE WITH EUROPE -- WHERE WE HAVE A MISSION TO THE EEC, OF WHICH WE ALSO ARE NOT A MEMBER.

C. A SEPARATELY ACCREDITED MISSION MIGHT, IN THE EVENT THAT ETHIOPIA BREAKS RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES OR FURTHER RESTRICTS ACTIVITIES OF THE EMBASSY AT ADDIS, ALLOW US TO CONTINUE TO HAVE ACCESS TO THE OAU SECRETARIAT AND TO MAINTAIN A PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA.

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